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THE TUSCARORA EXPEDITION.

LETTERS OF COLONEL JOHN BARNWELL.

Reprinted by permission of the Virginia Historical Society, from the April and July, 1898, issues of THE VIRGINIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, with an introduction by JOSEPH W. BARNWELL.

[These important letters form a part of the "Ludwell MSS." given to the Virginia Historical Society by the late Cassius F. Lee, Jr., a descendant of the Ludwells. They are not original letters, but copies made, evidently many years ago, in an ordinary blank book. As will be seen, some of the letters are missing. A sketch of Colonel John Barnwell was published, with a genealogy of the Barnwell family of South Carolina, in the second volume of this magazine, page 46.

This expedition has been the subject of considerable controversy during the long lapse of time—nearly two centuries—since it left Charles Town for the relief of the inhabitants of North Carolina. It is certainly remarkable that after so many years these copies of Col. Barnwell's letters should have been found in Virginia when the originals had disappeared from the records of South Carolina, 'though they are mentioned in the proceedings of the Commons House of Assembly.'

So little was known of this expedition in South Carolina in the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries that neither Hewat nor Ramsay mentions the second expedition under James Moore, which finally conquered the Tuscaroras, but both speak of the truce made with the Indians by Barnwell as if that treaty had put an end to the war.² The North Carolina historians have been more careful and mention both expeditions.³ The first volume of General McCrady's history was published before the publication of the Barnwell letters in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, and his description of the force commanded by Barnwell and of the officers serving under him was taken from Hewat and Ramsay. It differs entirely from that given in these letters. The South Carolina Historical Society has a map showing the operations of Moore against the Indian fort, which he finally took, and in the enumeration of the troops making the attack the names of most of the officers mentioned by McCrady as taking part

¹ Journal (MS.) of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina, May 14, 1712.

² Hewat, Vol. I, p. 202; Carroll's *Historical Collections*, Vol. I., p. 179; Ramsay's *History of South Carolina*, Vol. I., p. 156.

³ Williamson's *History of North Carolina*, Vol. I., p. 190; Hawks's *History of North Carolina*, Vol. II., pp. 540-544.

in Barnwell's expedition appear, showing the confusion of the two expeditions made by Hewat and Ramsay.⁴

The chief ground of controversy was as to whether the Indians's fort should have been assaulted by Barnwell instead of making a treaty with them. His reasons for making the treaty are fully set out in the letters here printed. That he was justified in doing so appears from the manuscript of Baron DeGraffenreid, who, with John Lawson, Surveyor-General of Carolina, had been made a prisoner by the Tuscaroras. DeGraffenreid had been released, but Lawson had been tortured and killed by them. DeGraffenreid subsequently wrote an account of his rescue to Governor Hyde of North Carolina which has been preserved in Switzerland.⁵

The account given by Barnwell in his letters of the government of North Carolina, whether justified or not, shows the friction existing between himself and the ruling party there. On their part they did not hesitate to make accusations of bad faith against him. Dr. Hawks is of opinion that the quarrel between them arose from the friendship between Barnwell and Moseley, who belonged to the opposing faction in North Carolina, and General McCrady adopts this view.⁶

Criticisms have also been made of Barnwell because his Indians, after the conclusion of the treaty dispersed and captured some of the North Carolina Indians.⁷ McCrady points out that precisely the same thing happened with Moore's Indians upon his expedition.⁸ The reader of these letters will not be surprised that such troops were not kept under control.

The journals (MS.) of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina show that on his return Colonel Barnwell was instrumental in having the second expedition sent, advising that a force of white men accompany the Indians, "being of opinion that our Indians will never of themselves attempt the taking of any Fort without they are led by a considerable number of white men."⁹]

⁴ McCrady's *History of South Carolina under Proprietary Government*, p. 499. The map of Moore's expedition will be published in a future issue of this magazine. A map is also in existence on which the route of Colonel Barnwell to and from North Carolina is traced.

⁵ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. I., p. 905.

⁶ Hawks, Vol. II., p. 540; McCrady, p. 502.

⁷ Rivers: *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina*, p. 254.

⁸ McCrady: *The History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, p. 526.

⁹ Journal (MS.) of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina August 7, 1712.

Narhantes Fort, Feb'ry 4, 1711.

May it please your Hon' :

I had eight days March from Pedee river where I dated my last to Cape Feare River, being a very bad Road full of great Swamps often pulling our horses out by main Strength and ropes. In the mean time during these 60 miles march I ordered Capt. Bull to take another Circuit among his Indians and meet me at the said River; accordingly he brought about 200 men, some of which were Bowmen. We were two days passing the River on bark logs and Rafts, and when I drew up my forces on this other side I soon perceived a great desertion of the Indians, but mostly of Capt. Bull's, of which there were 67 remaining. I concealed it as much as I could least of discouraging the rest, who I told were gone another way by my order & would meet us again; however the desertion continued & still continues, for the night before I crossed Neuse River I numbered my men and found it thus :

In Capt. Steel's Troop.

30	.....white men.
158	..... Yamasses.
155	..... Essaws.
182	.....Capt. Bull's.

525.

With Capt. Bull, Major Mackay, myself is in all 528.

Yamasse Company

Yamasses	.....	87
Hog Logees,	.....	10
Apalatchees,	.....	56
Corsaboy	.....	5
		<hr/>
		158

Essaw Capt. Jack's Compa.

Watterees	.....	28
Sagarees	.....	20

Catabas	40
Suterees	27
Waxaws	27
Congrees & Sattees	13
	<hr/>
	155

Capt. Bull's Comp.

Watterees	28
Pedees	18
Weneaws	24
Cape Feare	11
Hoopengs	11
Wareperes	9
	<hr/>
	117

To his Company also.

Saraws	42
Saxapahaws	22
	<hr/>
	182

My Scouts made no discovery of any men from North Carolina to joyn me at the place concerted between me and Major Gayle jursuant to the articles stipulated between your Hon' & him, in behalf of that Government, by which means I was destitute of Pilots & information; however relying on the justice of war, and the blessing of God upon our arms, who was pleased to grant us the finest weather that could be desired, I crossed Neuse River the 28th of January at night, at a place the Saxapahaws were lately settled, and 30 mile below the place appointed to meet Major Gale, and about 27 above this place, being the greatest and most warlike Town of the Tuscaruros; the Saxapahaws (called by some Shacioes) were forced to desert their settlements in the beginning of this month by

reason the Tuscaruros of this town fell upon them and killed 16 of them, because they refused to join with them against the English, they were just come among the Wat-tomas, when I came and were going to pay their Tribute to your Hon^r and beg your protection, but I desired them not to do it untill our Return, and go with me, they seeming to me brave men and good.

The 29th I marched hard all day and most of the night, that if possible I might surprise this great town, but to my great disappointment they discovered us, being continually upon their guard since the massacre. Tho' this be called a town, it is only a plantation here and there scattered about the Country, no where 5 houses together, and then $\frac{1}{4}$ a mile such another and so on for several miles, so it is impossible to surprize many before the alarm takes. They have lately built small forts at about a miles distance from one another where ye men sleep all night & the woman & children, mostly in the woods; I have seen 9 of these Forts and none of them a month old, & some not quite finished.

My next work was to take one of ye forts, and while I was preparing * * & * * to do the same orderly, some of my Yamasees were so mettlesome as to advise to force it by Assault, willing to flesh while they were hot, I immediately ordered the Attack, the Indians were first up, but dropping, they began to cool, when my too few valient white men reinforced them and broke into the fort in three places. Captain Steel was the first in, and I to encourage the men followed, then my Yamassees; But to our great surprise, within the Fort were two Houses stronger than the fort which did puzzle us & do the most damage, but now it was too late to look back, we forced them but the enemy were so desperate, the very women shooting Arrows, yet they did not yield untill most of them were put to the sword.

In this action Capt. Steel & all like rugged braves behaved themselves nobly, so did the major and young Parence (?) who I made Cornet, throwing the Standard upon the Block House, and calling to the men to recover it, and really every private man behaved himself so well that it was Terror to our own heathen friend to behold us, the word was Re-

venge, which we made good by the Execution we made of the Enemy.

The Indians when they saw ye Brittains enter, they judging the business was over, Crowded in on all hands to plunder which proved ye destruction of several, and when we forced the log houses while we were putting the men to the sword, our Indians got all the slaves & plunder, only one girl we gott,

We were not half an hour in taking this their strongest Fort in this part of the country, with the loss of 7 killed & 32 wounded, Viz:

Jan'y 30th in taking ye fort of Narhontes head Town of ye Tuscaruros.

Yamases Comp^a, Peterba King killed, 9 Yamases wounded Waterkee King killed, 2 Apalachees wounded, Cunaba Tom killed; 3 killed, 11 wounded.

Of Capt. Bull's Comp: 1 Sattack killed, King Robin wound, 1 Saxapahaw & 4 Wattaw wound. In all, 1 killed & 6 Wounded.

Of the Enemy: Yamasees bro^t 17 scalps, Capt Jacks Comp. 19 scalps, Capt Bull's Comp. 16 scalps.

Capt. Jack's Compⁿ 1 Watteree killed, 4 wounded, 1 Watteree killed, 6 Catabas wounded, 1 Congree wounded. In all, 2 killed & 16 wounded.

Besides those of white men we made about 30 slaves & there were several women killed, I saw 10, I was much concerned at my loss with no greater Execution of the Enemy, but much * * when I found ye Enemy terrified at the quick work made here, quitted all their forts, & left a fine Country open full of provisions, Our Indians presently loading themselves with English plunder of which these Towns are full, and running away from me, nothing left for the white men but their horses tired & their wounds to comfort them,

Next morning ye Tuscaruro town of Kenta came to attack us, but at such a distance I could not come up with them so I ordered two of Capt. Jack's Company to cross a great Swamp that lay at the back of us and ly close untill they heard our firing, and then to come on the back or rear of the Enemy if possible to surround them, accordingly

they did, but being two eager, they did not time * * * but 9 scalps & 2 prisoners which I ordered immediately to be burned alive, we had 2 more wounded this day.

To day having left a garrison in this Fort to look after the wounded men I marched thro' the 5 Towns of the Enemy whose Country is almost as fine & * * * as Appalatcha, I ordered that ye Fruit trees w'ch are plenty both of apples & peeches & Quinces to be preserved but destroyed all the rest, being about 374 houses, wherein there could not be less than 2000 bushells of corn and everywhere marks of their * * * against the English. In this days march a scalp was brought to me taken from a wounded man that was left behind by the Enemy.

From that day to the date hereof I am confined in this place by rainy weather, the Indians in the mean time making excursions and destroying the Country, but could meet with no p'son I am in want of Pilots, so am at a great Loss how to steer my Course, and much† * * * of North Carolina, the greatest part of our Indians are unwilling to proceed into unknown Country, where they may be hem'd in by a numerous Enemy and not know how to extricate themselves; but my brave Yamassees told me they would go wherever I led them. They will live and die with me, and Indeed I have that dependance on them that I would not refuse to give battle to the whole Nation of the Tuscaruros with them. The Enemy can't be less than 12 or 1,400 men, which may be easily judged by their large settlements, but extremely cowardly if they have liberty to run. Our Indians outdo the Enemy very much either at bush or Swamp but the Enemy are Fleeter & has the advantage of knowing the Country.

By the best information I can get there is two navigable Rivers between me and the English Inhabitants, which must be crossed on logs; yet if 200 stays with me I will attempt the forcing my way thither, for what I have hitherto done is but a small matter to the reduction or Extirpating these Indians according to my Instructions. All w'ch by *

† This appears to be: "much adverse as I am to neglect of."

assistance I will either perform before my return or lose myself in the attempt, w^{ch} for the honor of Carolina I am always ready to Sacrifice. As soon as the bad weather is broke up I will cross a river called by the Indians Caticee but what called by the English I can't tell. Afterwards to K. Hancock's fort which they tell me is a day & $\frac{1}{2}$ march from me: they tell me he has some great guns, a great deal of powder, & 300 men, and they suppose most of the men belonging to the towns destroyed will fly there. They confess that young men were wheedled by Hancock to joine in the villanies committed by him, but the old men & chiefs wept bitterly and told them the ill consequences would follow.

I examined several of the prisoners who provoked the Enemy to committ these Murders, and all agree in one story that the beginning of the Quarrel arose about an Indian that the White men had punished for a small fault committed in his drink, that at the same time 12 Senecas came & made peace with them, and told them that the Whites had imposed upon them and that when the whites had used them so, they knocked them on the head, they advised them that they were fools to slave & hunt to furnish themselves with the white people's food, it was but killing of them & become possessed of their substance, that they did not fear the want of ammunition for that, they would come twice a year & furnish them with it. I inquired whether any white men had incited them to it, they unanimously answered no, only that ye Virginia traders told them that the people Massacred were outlandish men and not English, and so they doubted not but soon to make peace with the English and that they were then about it. They tell me that there is two Senecas still among them.

I cant find upon the strictest enquiry that any Virginia Traders has been here with ammunition or goods since the Massacre.

When I come to Hancock's Fort I will offer him a battle, which if refused, I will well view the same, & if I think it practicable, I will have ye hon^r of finishing the war by taking it. Otherwise I will build a Fort by it and expect

the assistance of the pusillanimous Governor of North Carolina, can or will send me.

I congratulate your Hon^r for the success of our army hitherto and for the hon^r & Glory of virtuous South Carolina whose armies are the same winter gathering Laurells from the Cape Florida and from the Bay of Spiritta Sancta even to the Borders of Virginia.

I am with most sincere Respect, May it please your Hon^r,
Y^r Hon^r's most obedient serv^t,
John Barnwell.

Pamplico or Bathtown, Feb. 12, 1711-12.

May it please your Hon^r

Here follows an account of my proceedings since my last whereof enclosed is a copy because I am doubtful whether it is yet come to yo^r Hon^r. This day I marched from the Fort of Narhante's, which I demolished, for King Hancock's Town with my whole forces passing thro' Kenta & came to a town called Tonarooka Seated on a branch of Neuse River, when finding no Canoes we were passing by Same upon Logs when a Seneca Indian, Tom Gils by name, Stragled without his gun to plunder and was met with by three skulking Tuscaruros and shott thro' the body, of which he will hardly recover.

I sent parties out on all hands to intercept the Skulking dogs and in an hour's time one of my Yamasees brought me one of them alive, which was an acceptable present for I wanted intelligence and Pilotts. But this took us up so much time that not above a third of my men were over before night which gave an opportunity to Capt. Bull's Indians all every Soul to a man to desert me with Capt. Jack's men except himself & 23 more. So I had only the Yamassees Company with me; as soon as I perceived it I did all I could by fair words and threats to stop them but in vain, only they promised when they had secured their plunder which was very considerable & their Slaves they would return with a greater number. They likewise carried away 10 bags of spare bulletts they had in charge which I could not find nor recover, the Confusion was so

great. And to add to the rest of my ill fate is to have to do with such Soldiers, having a great number of wounded men. To encourage the Soldiers to go with me I dismounted myself and most of my men to send them on horseback, and having secured them on the contrary Side of the River they were so unnatural as to do me the kindness to leave them on my hands, which obliged me & my whole people to walk three score miles thro' a very bad way.

Febry 5. I called the head men of ye Yamasees & encouraged them to stay with me & proceed in a work So well begun, they answered after some hesitation & argument that they would live & die with me, but that if I should enter them upon action their wounded men would be so many & being in the heart of the Enemy's Country and every one of us absolute strangers in the place, our Enemy so numerous, our men disheartened by ye desertion of the rest and * * now reduced to a few and many of them Bowmen & boys, they could propose nothing but rely on us. I answered that the people lived within 2 or 3 days march, that before that time I should get there. I should meet with a good number that was promised me. That in the mean time I would not attempt anything only defend ourselves, and that ye Enemy were terrified & great cowards and that the Tuscaroro prisoner had in his life engaged to pilot me to the English and Lastly that if they would be Entirely obedient and put their Lives in my hands, I did engage to carry them all safe to the English upon which they cryed: Wough! Nemine Contradicente.

I will not tell your Hon^r that some white men were prevailed upon by ye Indian argument, however they have upon all occasions behaved themselves worthy of Commendation.

My prisoners told me most of the young men were gone down to Hancock, that the rest were fled towards Virginia as old men women & children, that they were obliged to disperse into small parcells because they had no provisions but must gather hickory nutts and that there would not be less than 500 men in arms with Hancock but not in a body. That there were two roads to the English settlements,

one short road through the woods, the other a round about way thro' their Indian Settlement.

After a little consideration, I chused rather the Road thro' the settlements for several Reasons too long to recite, the principal was to carry on the terrore the Enemy was in and not give time to them to recollect & follow us, or discover to them our fear. Another reason was That all my men would be more watchful & cautious in ye Enemy's Townes than in the woods, where they would perhaps be careless & straggle, apprehending no danger. Another reason was our Horsemen would be more useful in a cleare open country, where I could * * than in the Bushes. Pursuant to these Resolutions I made such a march with 178 Indians & 25 white men, 20 odd whereof were wounded that to the immortal Glory of South Carolina has struck the Dominion of Virginia into amazement & wonder, who a month before with 1,500 men in arms believed (to their great shame) they had obtained a glorious victory, when by the dreadful terrour of their troops they begged a most ignominious neutrality of those cowardly miscreants, which they were so gracious to grant upon Condition, to have goods at a cheaper rate and their children brought up at the College.

This is hardly credible, but by heaven it is true, for my eyes saw a copy of the Treaty, attested by the Secretary of Virginia. It is too long to inform your Hon^r how I ordered my march but by noon I reached a great town called Innennits, their Fort was not finished, here I found 14 white people's scalps and a world of plunder. So our Indians threw away all their former plunder to load themselves with better, but I ordered my White people not to encumber themselves, being already well loaded with arms, ammunitions and provisions. Not knowing but I might have occasion to come back this way I ordered the town to be burnt. I stayed here 2 hours & marched still thro plantations ever since I left Narhantes, and encamped in one & immediately made a Fortification & sent our Scouts on all hands and kept good watch.

Feb'ry 6. I marched Still thro' plantations until I came to a deep Brook where our horses Swam, But we had a tree

to pass over on. Here I numbered my men as they passed the tree, but very privately so that it was impossible to discover our numbers. The rest of the day I passed thro' a piney Barren that lay between the Settlements of Neuse & the three Tuscaruro Towns in Pamplico. Here my scouts discovered 5 Enemy's w'ch were returning from plundering Some English houses. We pursued them & obliged them to throw away their packs & guns, but as I already observed they out run our Indians, they had delicate parsnips & Turnips with a Turkey & sev¹¹ other household goods. At night we arrived upon a very large River which I understood afterwards was Pamplico; here my Indians took 6 Slaves & killed 2 men. In the night I Sent Scouts to discover the hut town called Ucouh-Ne-runt seated 5 miles above us on the River.

7th. Not to lose time I ordered Bark Logs to be made in order to cross over. I first ordered 30 stout fellows to swim with their arms to secure our passage in a place where there is an Indian plantation. Next my horses, then the wounded men, then the Baggage. But while this Last was a doing, my Rear was attacked as I expected, so they mete with suitable reception from my brave men. I immediately advanced to them to discover their number but found them not 50. I am sure not 60. Seeing them so inconsiderable I ordered a halt & to tree it as they call it. Then gave order to 70 or 80 to get half a mile along the River and then strike thro' the woods & surround them, if this had been done & well performed we should have taken or killed every man of them. The situation of the ground was so advantageous to us, being surrounded with deep creeks & swamps all in our possession. But the Yamassee Captain being too eager, turned upon them too soon & notwithstanding we all ran as we could, most of them got away, still out running us Leaving a good many Cloaths & guns & blood all over the Field, but I was presented with no more than 2 scalps & had a Yamassee shot thro' the thigh. I returned to ferry over leaving more Ambuscades who presently discovered 6 of the enemy creeping, I suppose to carry off the dead, but they discovered the Ambush too soon & ran for it, & were Chased by our best Runners for

2 miles, but in vain. Notwithstanding all my diligence, these disturbances made it night before I could transport all my men. So I crossed over & sent back 20 of my best men to join the Rest and watch the Enemy's motion.

Feb. 8. By 12 o'clock I marched, and in the evening came to a deep creek, for the late Rains had set the country all on Flote which were tedious to me, being obliged to walk on foot for the sake of the wounded men who I shewed great kindness to, to encourage the rest to venture the exposing themselves. Here I encamped all night, and rising at my usual hour which is daily since I had this charge on my hands, at 4 o'clock in the morning, and at 5 I had just relieved the Centrys and sat at ye fire when ye Enemy poured a volley upon us, and I had reason to believe most of the shott was directed at me for it made strange work with my things & several shott plunged the tree I leaned against. Our Centrys being very quick, fired at the same juncture, wth was followed with 30 or 40 guns more. I could not distinguish ye number of the Enemy's firing, so that I ordered all to quitt the Fires & to stand to their arms until daylight when I perceived the Enemy was fled without doing the least damage only the breaking of the stock of one gun wth a bullett.

9. I marched to a ruined English plantation where killed Beef & hogs & took the rest of the day in ferrying on logs over a broad Creek.

10th. I march'd three Mile and mett a broader Creek, passing well ruined English plantations. These Creeks gave me a world of trouble, and lest I should meet with many more, I ordered 2 Indians & a white man to march towards the head of ye creek and find out the Road wth must lead from the plantation to Bathtown & then proceed to Town & desire ye Commander there (if the place was not deserted) to send a perriaug^r to me to carry down the wounded men, and men to pilot our horse down. According about midnight, 3 perriaug^{rs} came & next day we all came up here to ye incredible wonder and amazement of the poor distressed wretches here, who expressed such

extremity of mad joy that it drew tears from most of our men.

I am, May it please your Hon^{rs},
Your most humble servant,
J. Barnwell.

From my camp on y^e South Side of Pamlico 15 miles
above Bathtown, Feb^y 25, 1711-12.
May it please yo^r Hon^r

No doubt but you admire that in all this time you hear no news of Major Gale who I'm afraid is either cast away or taken, for this government did not know one word of me untill I brought the news myself, and accordingly no provision made for us. * *

[Here unfortunately the MS. is lost for several pages.]

The broken MS. begins thus:

Amends for his wounds. The Indians being more dextrous than us at taking slaves and be sure send him back for I hope by that time he will be fitt for service, if you order * * will be great encouragement to the rest of my men. I can't forget to recommend ye miserable condition of 300 widows and orphans that are here without provision or clothing and ill used * * by the dire effects of the barbarous enemy's rage. I cannot mention this without tears and humbly beg the Assembly & y^r Hon^r to commiserate their deplorable case, they are willing upon any terms to transport anywhere for Relief. I heartily congratulate yo^r Hon^r for the continued successes of the prosperous arms of South Carolina.

I am yo^r Hon^{rs} most humble serv^t,
John Barnwell.

New Berne, March 12th, 1712.

May it please your Hon^r,

According to my usual method by way of Journal I proceed to give you an account of my proceedings since my last.

Feb^y. 26. This day I was joined by 67 men most of whom wanting ammunition. I exhausted all Pamlico garrisons to procure them 10 shott a man, leaving not a

single Bullett I could hear of, telling the people that they should be speedily supplied by a sloop which was speedily expected from Albemarle with ammunition.

27th. This day was I forced for want of provision to march towards K. Hancock's town hoping to find some there, for after a great many promises to supply me day after day with more men provisions and ammunition I waited so long for bread kind until half of men fell sick and willing to preserve the health of the rest, I proceeded to get that of the enemy which was delayed by my Friends, which was so great an uncertainty that I was drawn by the utmost necessity to pursue such hazardous expedients.

March 1st. I marched on foot wth 94 white men and 148 Indians thro' a bad way for 16 mile for the late rains had raised the water in the swamps that we often waded above our waists.

2. I proceeded to ye Town 12 miles more, but found it deserted but to my great joy plenty of corn, but now we wanted pamplico beef.

My scouts discovered a numerous enemy on the other side of the River (which is a branch of Neuse), who fired upon them but we being tired we rested that night.

March 3d. I made sev^l marches & countermarches along the river to get over, but I found it in no place possible, for the floods were very high and the enemy had scuttled all the canoes & often fired at us, However I discovered a proper plan to make rafts, and was resolved next morning to pass there, it being * too late and the enemy watching us. Our Scouts tooke a scout of the enemy's who being tortured told me that the enemy had a strong Fort on the Contrary side of the river with about 130 men in it, and that they had sent out to call in all their party. That they had but little powder w^{ch} they bought with gold of white people, and that they hid the captives & their own women & children in a swamp, & that he will shew us ye canoe he came over in. I sent my major with 80 men to get it, but he returned about midnight with an account it was gone.

4. I ordered Lt. Col. Brice before day to march with 70 men 3 or 4 miles up the river with the trumpeters to seek

a passage, but if he could find none, then to order the trumpeters to sound & huzza, and make as great noise as he could with his hatchetts, which having done for half an hour to return to me. In the mean time I marched down ye river very silently with the rest of the forces at the place appointed. I threw up a breast work with Fashines & made a raft that held 5 men, but before I could get men over, Brice returned & ye enemy waiting on him at ye contrary side and imeadiately to fring we went; I ordered the Raft off, the enemy wounded 2 of the men thereon, I got 2 more to supply it, and they got over safe, and tho' contrary to my orders they imeadiately mounted the bank before more got over, yet as soon as they did the enemy run like deer, upon which our Indians tooke ye river one & all wth before I could not prevail with them to do, and pursued the enemy by night. We got all over & marched a mile when in some hours we found a Deer & a Turkey, wth was a sure sign that the Enemy did not expect us to pay them a visit on that side of the river. They were 5 South Carolina men that went first over on the Raft, for I could not prevail with one of this Country Cowardly Crew to venture, wth was a presage of what followed.

5. Before day I marched with about 100 men thro' the woods to get on the back side of ye Fort & left orders wth my major & Brice to march in ye road way by daylight with the remainder, and if I heard any shooting I would intercept ye ambuscades; but we all got to the Fort without any trouble. I imeadiately viewed the Fort with a prospective glass and found it strong as well by situation on the river's bank as Workmanship, having a large Earthen Trench thrown up against the puncheons with 2 teer of port holes; the lower teer they could stop at pleasure with plugs, & large limbs of trees lay confusedly about it to make the approach intricate, and all about much with large reeds & canes to run into people's legs. The Earthern work was so high that it signified nothing to burn the puncheons, & it had 4 round Bastions or Flankers; the enemy says it was a runaway negro taught them to fortify thus, named Harry, whom Dove Williamson sold into Virginia for roguery & since fled to the Tuscaruros. Yet hoping to

finish the war by this stroke, where now all the principal murderers were in a pen, I encouraged my men by promises, &c. I ordered 200 Fashines to be made which ye palatines well understood to do, I had them presently done. It is too tedious to inform yo^r Hon^r all the particulars how I ordered the Attack; but in short, when we got within 10 or 12 yards of the Fort the enemy made a terrible fire upon us without the least damage in the world, but this country base, cowardly people hearing the shott strike their Fashines, threw both them & their arms away & run for life, wth not only left themselves exposed but also all those that went under their shelters; this encouraged the enemy to renew the firing, who deservedly shott sevⁿ of them in their backs. In the mean time my brave South Carolina men * 23 of this country undauntedly kept their order. I ordered them to keep their stations until I brought up the runaways. But all my endeavour was in vain, tho' I mauled sevⁿ wth my cutlass, and as soon as they saw me running towards them they would scamper into the swamp that was hard by. I, seeing the confusion & being afraid that the number that drew the enemy's fire was insufficient to come at the Fort by assault, I ordered a retreat which was bravely managed, for every man got his Fashine on his back, and of my own number I had but one wounded; the most of them had 10 or more shott in his Fashine, but of the runaways there were 1 killed & 18 wounded and of the 23 that stood by my men there were 3 killed & 2 wounded, in all 4 killed and 20 wounded. It rained smartly during the attempt, w^{ch} proved a great hindrance. I ordered the Indians to make a false attack on the contrary side, which they did with such caution that they had not a man hurt. At night I ordered some of my men to go up & bring off the dead men w^{ch} was performed, only 1 man they could not find. I endeavored to encourage the men to renew the attack in the night, but in vain, for I could get but 16 with my own men, who never refused me anything I putt them upon.

March 6. I being uneasy how to dispose of my wounded men, I marched with 30 men along the River side for 6 mile, where it flows into Neuse to view the country and send an express to Neuse Garrison to bring up canoes to

carry off ye wounded. In this march we mett 2 enemys who were so hard chased, that they threw away their packs & Guns & took the River. When I came to the Ferrying place on the Neuse, ye enemy on the other side fired at us, so I considered it impracticable to send an express without a strong detachment which I could not spare. At this 6 mile were new houses abuilding & plantations a clearing by ye Cove & Neuse Indians confederates to the Tuscaroras who deserted their other towns to be nearer the main body. As soon as I returned to the camp I ordered wooden spades to be made & more Fashines & poles got ready, and in the dark of the evening I crept on my belly within 30 yards of the Fort & perceived a curious plan to make a breast-work, that had more command of the enemys canoes & water than they had themselves. To work I went & by morning had a re-intrenchment that held 50 men. I doing of this I had 2 of my own brisk men wounded.

7th. The enemy being terrified at our near approach, began to quit the Fort, but my men fired so hard at ye canoes that obliged them to return, I imeadiately ordered a party over the River, and so blocked up the Fort on all sides, then the enemy when they wanted water would send down the bank one of the English captives to fetch it, our men called to them to have patience, for by next morning they should be delivered, at which the enraged desperate enemy began to torture them and in our hearing put to death a girle of 8 years of Mr. Taylors, upon this the relations of the other captives, came crying & begging of me to have compassion of the innocents, w^{ch} was renewed by Cryes & lamentations of the Captives being about 35 or 40 yards of them, at last I was prevailed upon to call to the enemy, who sent Mrs. Perce to me to treat about their delivery, she having 5 children within, w^{ch} ye enemy refused on any terms to do but on condition I would raise the siege, otherwise they would put them all to death and fight to the last man & beat us off.

After an hours consideration, having consulted all the officers, upon this I with two more went up to the Fort gates to speak with the head man who dare not come out to me, I perceived two reintrenchments within the Fort &

perceived a great number of men. I ordered one of my men to go in but they would not let him, pleading he might have pocket pistols, I perceived ye head men & others to tremble exceedingly. I found that in case I broke in, I should have hard work against a parcel of desperate villians who would do all the mischief they could before their death. I knew I had not 30 men I could entirely depend upon, which if some of them were killed or wounded the rest of them would leave me in the lurch. Ammunition was so scarce with the North Carolina men, that some of them had not above 4 charges. I considered that if the place was relieved by the upper towns the enemy brag'd of as much as of the assistance of the senicas, most of my men would run away, & it would be 2 nights more before I could penetrate the Fort for want of spades & Hods, the ground being so rooty our wooded tools worked but slowly. And lastly I had more wounded men than I knew well how to take care of, and if the number should increase upon meeting a repulse I should be forced to leave them to the mercy of ye most Barbarous enemy. All wth considerations obliged me to agree. That upon their delivering me up 12 Captives then in the Fort immediately & 2 canoes (wth I pretended was to convey ye captives down) and on the 12th day after deliver me up 22 more captives 24 negroes that were hid in other places I would raise ye seige and that there should be a truce for the 12 days that they may find out & bring the captives securely to Batchelours creek which is within 6 mile of New Bern where also the head men of the Tuscaroras was to meet me to treat about Peace, then I suffered 2 to go out to give notice along the Neuse River to their partys not to shoot at ye canoes when they went down, this they performed very faithfully, for the canoes met with sevⁿ that spoke kindly to them, and told them they hoped before long to be good friends. Now for the delivery of the rest of the Captives I have only the faith of savages and the 19th instant will discover it.

March 8. I left ye Fort & that night crossed ye River of Neuse at 6 miles off by the help of the canoes.

9th. I marched 20 long miles, in which march I passed thro' Core town wth certainly is the most lovely, pleasant-

est, Richest piece of land in either Carolina upon a navigable River. The Cores deserted it, and hid their corn, w^{ch} is in abundance, in a great Swamp on the contrary sides of the River. I sent partys to search for it, for we are in extreme necessity. This day arrived here, being ye seat of the wise Baron. By the enclosed memorial sent to the Assembly here now sitting, you will perceive the barbarous entertainment I have had, which the Gov^r could not help, for the people regard him no more than a broom staff, they pay much more deference to my cutlass which I now & then send some of their toping Dons.

I must not forget one Mr. Mitchell, a Swiss brave gentleman, who for true valor & presence of mind in ye midst of action, accompanied with a gentle obliging carriage & ingenious to great degree rendered him ye most acceptable companion in this, my last Ramble. This good tempered gentleman is an agent here & in Portsmouth for the Canton of Bern, he had a mind to see South Carolina. I whetted his inclination as much as I could by showing the difference between both Governments.

I am, Your Hon^r Most Obedient humble Servant,
Jno. Barnwell.

Fort Barnwell, April 20th, 1712.

May it please your Hon^r:

I will pursue my usual method of informing you of my proceedings by way of Journal. Inclosed in my last you will find a memorial presenting to view ye miserable condition I was reduced to by the wilfull neglect, designs & controversies of this government, who starved us here lest we should get provisions to enable us to depart their ungrateful service. Between ye date of my last & the 25th of March, Myself, Major Makay, Capt. Bull & sev¹¹ of my men fell sick & a great number of Indians of whom 4 or 5 died. My Major is just recovered. Capt. Bull not yet & more of my men in ye like case, all this occasioned thro' scarce & bad Diete & great cold. This prevented my meeting ye Enemy ye 19th instant at the place appointed, so I got Capt. Mitchell to go, but ye Enemy were worse than their words, w^{ch} to make them sensible of I ordered my * * out who return-

ed with 3 scalps. In the mean time the Assembly answered my Memorial with a paper full of Resolutions & addresses wherein they tell me they passed an act in emulation of South Carolina but they are so choice of it that tho' it was a month ago they & some of them out of some refined kind of Politics keeps it private to themselves. I say some of them because I spoke both to some of ye Council & Assembly men who gave their votes & signed it that protested they could not inform me whether their men had 3d. or 12d. a day, this is extremely ridiculous & so hardly credible that when any body reads this & not consider that I write to ye government who placed me in this hon'ble post, they could not give credit to it. When I examined a little further I found that 2 or 3 of ye Assembly supplied ye rest of their wise Brethren with such plenty of punch that they voted, acted signed & strip'd stark naked & boxt it fairly two & two, all the same day, Gov^r Hyde Collo. Boyd a member of ye Council, the only ragged gown parson with Mr. Speaker, the Provost Marshall with another hon^{ble} member and so round it went. A good deal of such stuff as this made me laugh heartly since I came here where truly I had but small inclination to mirth and I fancy you will do so when I tell you Col. Boyd informed me I was the occasion of all this for they were so long drinking my health that they knew not what they did, while poor me drink cold water, wishing for a little salt to season their grass & wampee I fed on instead of bread. I ought have gone this time to Little River & have partaken with ye rest, but then I should return to Charlesfown Commander in Chief of myself & slaves, put ye government to another £4000 charge when they should be in so good a humor as they were this time. Col. Daniel will inform you ye distance between Coretown & Little River is above 200 miles. Excuse me for this Stuff. I am obliged to lay things naked that your Hon^r may not puzzle yourself to conceive the true Reason of ye rest of their seeming unaccountable Politicks.

March 25th. As soon as I recovered I ordered a garri-son at Durhams over against Bath Town on ye South shore of Pamplico, to render ye communication between Pamplico

& Neuse more practicable by Land, it being but 25 miles across the necke & 30 miles by water.

28. I ordered all the horses & Baggage to be transported from North side of Pamlico to ye Southside of Neuse that I might be ready to go home as soon as I could get provisions for 6 days unto ye Cape Feare Indians.

29th. Willing to inform myself whether the Enemy maintained their Fort & to get some corn if possible, I marched with 15 white men & 30 Indians (not having provisions for a greater party) though this may be called a rash attempt, yet the Success answered ye opinion I had of the enemy I took Drums & Trumpets. I encountered nothing till I came to Hancock's town where Scouts surprised a party of the Enemy who were conveying corn into their Fort & brought in * * As soon as I heard the war whoop I ordered ye Drums & Trumpets to alarm & immediately marched up to 300 yards of the Fort & stayed a quart^r. of an hour in wth time I got & secured some corn. I found they had built a new fort that extended from the old one to the ground of my former attack, a large ditch surrounded ye palisadoes & tho' there were in 6 y'ds of it I retreated to this place discovering 100 bushels of corn hid up & down in the swamp. I pitched upon a place so naturally fortified that with a little Labour 50 men could keep off 5000. It lyes nigh the middle of Core Town on a point between Neuse River & a fine Branch two sides being 30 feet high full of hanging rocks & springs, and the 3d side gently inclining to the plane like a natural Glacis which I fortified for 180 feet to make each side equal, it is 1500 paces to the next wood, only on ye sides of ye hill and on both sides the brook there are large timber trees & firewood intirely wthin command of the Fort & lyeth 20 miles above New Bern & 7 Mile from K. Hancock's town, it is a very charming place.

30th. I sent express to new Bern to bring up some boats & tools; in the night they arrived. I imeadiately sent to bring into my Fort some corn & built Hutts to preserve it in, & sent for all my Indians (to encamp there), being dispersed all over the country to subsist the better.

31st. This day my Yamisees brought me a scalp be-

longing to one of ye enemy's scouts. I ordered the Indians to get parched corn flouer ready in order to return as soon as my horses come.

April 1st. At last I received an express from Gov. Hyde that Coll^o Boyd was coming to join me wth 70 men. That there was 2 sloops sailed with provisions and that a new Turn was given to affairs, and for the future I should have no reason to complain. This rejoiced me so that I sent express to ye sev^{al} Garrisons of Neuse to join me with all their able men; I ordered the new arrived corn to be brought to my Fort, and this night came up to me 10 gallons of rum, 2 casks of cider & a cask of wine.

April 2nd. The fame of this liquor encouraged my white men in a few days to 153 but was much surprised when I could not furnish them with more than 7 bullets a man & ye powder, & one of ye sloops having 115 bushels of corn to maintain the people that was coming to joine me gave out all but 52, w^{ch} together wth all the corn I got with ye hazard of my life they devoured before they left me. As to the South Carolina Sloop w^{ch} was barbarously stopt untill this day & my letter from y^r Hon^{ble} kept from me under ye pretense of loading corn for ye army, was sent to Bath-town with rum to sell for the Gov^r and the corn put ashore there above 120 miles from ye army. Pray take Capt. Adlar's Deposition.

3. My scouts brought me a scalp of one of ye enemy's scouts this day. From this to ye 6th instant I waited for ye sev^{al} detachments. All ye Field officers came without a dram, a bit of meese bisket or any kind of meat but hungry stomachs to devour my parcht corn flower, and they began to grumble for better victuals w^{ch} putt me in such a passion at all kinds of ill usages since I came here that I ordered one of their majors to be tyed neck & heels & kept him so, and whenever I heard a saucy word from any of them I imeadiately cutt him, for without this they are the most impertinent, imperious, cowardly Blockheads that ever God created & must be used like negros if you expect any good of them. I gott 2 three pounders, 2 patteraros, 7 Granardo shells, 22 Great Shott but hardly powder enough for 10 discharges. Coll^o Mitchell contrived sev^{al} sorts

of Ingenious Fireworks, & a mortar to throw them into the Fort; these things I gott without any help from ye Publick.

7th. At night I marched with 153 white men & 128 Indians to K. Hancock's Fort, and before day blockt it up on all hands without any loss. For we were there before ye enemy was aware of us. From this to the 17th the siege lasted w^{ch} was by way of approach, by w^{ch} time we gained ye ditch & sevⁿ times fired ye pallisades w^{ch} ye enemy like desperate villians defended at an amazing rate. This siege for variety of action, salleys, attempts to be relieved from without, can't I believe be paralleled ag^t Indians. Such bold attacks as they made at our trenches flinted the edge of those Raw Soldiers, that tho' they were wholly underground yet they would quitt their posts and with extreme difficulty be prevailed upon to resume them. The subtell Enemy finding the disadvantage they were under in sallying open to attack our works too ye same method as we did and digged under ground to meet our approaches, w^{ch} obliged us to make sevⁿ traverses and false approaches to deceive them. At last we got to the ditch and ye enemy had a hollow way under their pallisades that as fast as we filled ye ditch they would carry away the Fashines, & tho' we fired ye pallisades yet we could not maintain it. My men were so cowardly in ye trenches I was afraid to venture them to assault ye pallisades, and if I had gained them it would have been nothing towards reducing ye Fort. So as I was resolved to let the pallisades stand & work up to them, and then they would prove as good to us as the enemy; but this 15 foot cost us so much time untill I was thro' extreme famine obliged to hearken to a capitulation for the surrend'ng thereof upon articles, w^{ch} leaves above 100 murderers unpunished besides the women & children of those villians killed & executed. Since my former attempts Virginia furnished them with 400 buckskins worth of ammunition w^{ch} I was informed of by Gov^r Hyde's letters and ye relation of ye redeemed captives. If North Carolina had but furnished me with but 4 days' provisions more I had in spite all enemys, without firing many gunns more, entirely

made a glorious end of the war. This Fort in both attacks cost me 6 white men & 1 Indian killed & 35 white men & 1 Indian wounded, but it is * * believed ye Report ye Captives give of ye enemy's loss considering how they were fortified but proceeded from their foolish sallies, w^{ch} as they were desperate attempts so it is inconceivable what they meant by it, for we had 40 to one when they entangled themselves amongst our Trenches. If I have time before the Fleet sails I will in a sheet give you a journal of the siege, and in the mean time here are the heads of the Articles, Viz:

First. To deliver up all the white captives and negroes imeadeately that are in ye Fort the rest in 10 days at my Fort.

2. To deliver up K. Hancock & 3 men notorious murderers that are alive & shall be named by ye Governor.

3rd. To deliver up all the horses, skins & plunder what in ye Fort imeadiately & the rest at my town in ten days.

4th. To come yearly to the Governor in March & pay Tribute.

5. To deliver 3 hostages immediately, viz: The brothers of the Tuscarora king & the cove king.

6. To furnish me with all the corn in ye Fort for the departure of my Indians.

7. To make complaints regularly to Magistrates upon any quarrel between them & whites.

8th. To plant only on Neuse River the Creek the Fort is on quitting all claims to other Lands.

9th. To quitt all pretentions to planting, Fishing, hunting or ranging to all Lands lying between Neuse River & Cape Feare, that entirely to be left to the So. Carolina Indians, and to be treated as Enemys if found in those Ranges without breach of peace, and the Enemy's line shall be between Neuse & Pamlico * fishing on both sides Bear River.

10th The flanks next the attack to be demolished imeadeately and the English have Liberty to march thro' the same with all Ensigns of hon' and the rest of the Fort to be demolished in 2 days & never to build more Forts.

Lastly. In 20 days wait on the Governor & sign these & such other articles as shall be agreed upon; all these articles were performed thus:

1st. 24 Captives children were delivered & 2 negroes one of wth being a notorious Rogue was cutt to pieces immediately.

2d. King Hancock was gone to Virginia they will deliver him and 3 others when the Governor names them.

3d. Most of the horses' skins & plunder they sold the Virginia Traders, the remainder wth but little they delivered.

4. They would yearly come to pay tribute.

5. They delivered 2 sons of the Tuscaroras King & a Brother of the Cove King.

6. This was the hardest article, however, I got as much as furnished 40 Indians Essaws and Palatchees & sent them away, but to my great loss one of my slaves ran away with them. I gave Mr. C. £35 for him & I suppose he is gone thither. Let me beg your Hon^{ty} favour to get him for me.

7, 8, 9. Intirely agreed to by ye Tuscaruro Indians, but grunted at by the Coves upon which the quarrelled, and had I but 4 days provisions I had contrived the matter so well that in that time I could oblige ye Tuscaroras to have delivered all the Coves for slaves. I will take another time to tell you how.

10. They broke down Flanker. I ordered 2 files of So. Carolina men to take possession of the breach. Then I drew the whole body up before the breach & marched them into ye Fort. 2 Trumpets, 2 Drumms, So. Carolina Standard, Yamassee & Apalatchka, Col. Boyd, Coll. Mitchell, Major Makay, Major Cole, myself gentlemen volunteers 2 & 2, So. Carolina men 2 & 2, ye Yamassee Cap^{ts} 2 & 2. I refused these country men to march with me Friday, but after I had gone thro' ye Fort (which amazed me) they had Liberty, for I never saw such subtil contrivance for Defence, but I found a good fire would have made greater Havock than I expected. There was a good number of sick & wounded & a very great mortality which with their nastiness produced such stink that I as soon as the Colour was raised on the Fort and the great

guns fired & shrill huzzas, I made a short sharp speech to ye Rebels who hid all their arms & prostrated themselves their wives & children in my power, hoping I would be as good as my word & not take this advantage to murder them.

I might see by the strength of the place a good many would be killed before it could be forced. Some base people was urging to take this opportunity but I would sooner die. In truth they were murderers, but if our Indians found that there could be no dependence in our promises, it might prove of ill consequence besides 70 odd were not there wth was a number sufficient to hinder all North Carolina from planting & I told them if they did approve of what I had done they might mend it which put them to silence.

When we began the siege besides hardy boys that could draw bow there were 46 men at the Fort. I ordered 200 Volunteers to number them at this time, tho' none agreed in the exact number yet they all agreed as there was above 80 so there was not one hundred.

I am wild exclaiming against this place in writing but when I kiss your Hand I have such a tale to tell of the bare faced villainys daily committed here as will make y^r Hon^r for the future use this country as Virginia does. To spare my horses I walked on foot and came here, but now I find 2 of my horses rid to death the other 2 stolen, for after 10 days are not found, svth of my men are in the same case.

If yo^r Hon^r doth not think fitt to send back the shallop for me * * I would come by this opportunity but am unwilling to leave men * * * of whom 1 is killed, 10 wounded & 4 sick, so have not above 7 or 8 well with me.

May So. Carolina flourish when I bleed & suffer * * * body do ten times more than I can pretend to do for its advancement.

May * * me and my poor men, and send some corn to help ye poor Yamassees home, they * * when all others Left me in the midst of my greatest extremity.

I am with * *

Your Hon^{ty} most obedient Servant,
Barnwell.